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ABSTRACT

A study explored the meanings of democracy held by teachers and students in each of the three types of secondary schools in an emerging democracy (the Czech Republic) by locating the meaning in multi-dimensional semantic space. Data were collected during 2 months of fieldwork conducted in the Czech Republic during the fall of 1997. Students and teachers representative of three different types of schools in one large city, two medium-sized cities, and one small town were asked to think about the type of government the Czech Republic had while they completed a semantic differential scale composed of 57 bipolar adjectives. Factor analysis was used to represent the adjective pairs as a smaller number of variable factors. Results indicated significant age differences on the evaluative factor, sex differences on the potency and stability factors, school level differences on the evaluative, potency, and stability factors, and a social class/prestige difference on the stability factor. No significant difference was found on the pervasiveness factor. Includes 17 notes, a figure, 8 tables of data and 34 references. An appendix lists prestige scores assigned to father's and mother's occupations. (Author/BT)

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Locating Czech Democracy: A semantic differential analysis of the meaning of democracy among students and teachers in three types of secondary schools*

A paper prepared for presentation in the Educational Institutions session at the Midwest Sociological Society Meeting, Minneapolis, MN April 8-11, 1999

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to describe the meanings of democracy held by teachers and students in each of the three types of secondary schools in an emerging democracy (the Czech Republic) by locating that meaning in multi-dimensional semantic space. The data reported in this paper were collected during two months of fieldwork conducted in the Czech Republic during the fall of 1997. 350 students and teachers in each of these schools in one large city, two medium-sized cities, and one small town were asked to think about the type of government the Czech Republic had while they completed a semantic differential scale composed of 57 bipolar adjectives. Factor analysis was used to represent the adjective pairs as a smaller number of variable factors. Results indicate significant age differences on the evaluative factor, sex differences on the potency and stability factors, school level differences on the evaluative, potency, and stability factors, and a social class/prestige difference on the stability factor. No significant difference was found on the pervasiveness factor.

Introduction

Early Athenian democracy was based on participatory government, legal equality, pluralism, and individuality of the citizens of the state (Macridis, 1992: 22). While Athens granted citizenship to a select few, the people admitted to citizen status in different states since that time[1] have varied with their spatiotemporal location in history and geography. The people of the Czech Republic most recently organized themselves for democratic citizenship education in the aftermath of the 1989 Velvet Revolution (Kotásek 1993:475, 476).[2] During a period of declining socialism and communism in Central and Eastern Europe, with the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, they proclaimed their collective intent to exist as the Czech Republic.

Since democracy provides the context within which democratic citizenship and the civic education producing those citizens occurs, understanding local differences in conceptions of democracy provides a point from which to begin planning civic curricula. Since we lack an understanding of how Czech students and teachers conceptualize democracy, this paper seeks to fill that void.

Theoretical Overview

When humans act, they simultaneously assume the existence of and constitute the institutions that inform their practice.[3] While one student might dread the thought of attending school one morning, discussing that thought while playing hooky with a friend enacts elements of the educational system discussed. Too, another student discussing educational goals with a friend or teacher enacts elements of an educational system. While the actions of both of these hypothetical students may occur within the same system, the description becomes that much more complex when the institution referred to in their discourse about education[4] differ as much from the American or any other model, as *gymnasia* do from *střední škola* and *učiliště* in the Czech Republic.

The inability to conduct complex, concerted activities, such as that which occurs when people enact social institutions (i.e., here, an educational system), without aligning actions and communicating with each other mandates that every study of human action grant primacy to language,[5] meaning, and the similarities between observer and the observed. The social act that produced the democratic Czech Republic, like this statement and the research act which informed it, displays four features common to all acts of cultural production: subject-object relations, self-reference, macroreference, and audience response (Wieting and Thorlindsson, 1990).

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[1] For example women, minorities, people of different social classes, and people with handicaps.

[2] A designation of an object of observation by journalists.

[3] E.g., Bourdieu 1990a; Bourdieu 1990b; Collins 1981; Douglas 1986; Fine 1991; Giddens 1991; Marcus and Fisher 1986; Ortner 1984; Rosaldo 1989; Searle 1995; Bruner, 1996.

[4] For that matter, a disinclination to discuss a topic on the part of the hooky players contributes, in its silence (following Foucault, 1972), to the enactment of the system.

[5] While language is only one of many semiotic systems, recursively, it remains the necessary and constitutive element of discussions of all other sign systems.

First, performing such an act of cultural production highlights a naming function of language which allows one to usher a new object into being. These subject-object relations and the different forms they assume (Bishop, 1998) can function analytically as a means not only of differentiating groups, but also, in accord with the approach taken here, as a means by which one might examine the stance taken towards the object. These relations are displayed, for instance, in the class of objects acknowledged and singled out for attention as well as in the manner in which the object is defined. The primary goal of this study is to examine one object — democracy— and the nature of the stance taken toward that object by Czech students and teachers.

Second, the nature of the self-referential act also functions analytically as a means of examining responses. The preferential use of first-person pronouns in-lieu of second/third-person pronouns illustrates a different normative order than another pattern (Bishop, 1989). For example, defining democracy as "We can do anything we want" differs substantially from the claim "I can do anything I want." By examining texts for differences such as this we can differentiate groups as well as utilize the relative proportions of personal pronouns distributed in a sample of texts as a measure of group cohesion.

The third element of the social context of cultural production notes that a cultural product displays evidence of accommodating audience characteristics and expectation. This is evident, for instance, when we construct our statements to meet the demands of syntactical norms and features of the genres in which the statement is couched. Macroreferences in conversation to institutions assumed to exist also indicates this characteristic of cultural production. For example, when American educators speak of progressivism or pragmatism, they invite assessment of their discourse on the bases of shared understandings of progressivism or pragmatism.

Finally, audience response(s) illuminate the socially situated nature of cultural production. Collective organization to retain a cultural product depends on assessing the degree to which the product, now the object of a new moment of cultural production, meets normative expectations of form and content. In performing such acts, peers, as well as consumers and future subjects who make the product the object of their attention,[6] in their discourse, display these four elements of cultural production delineated here. Thus, this study also functions as call for the comparative examination of these four elements in context and other cultures.

Conceptions of Democracy

Much of the literature examining democracy is descriptive or prescriptive. For instance, Macridis examines the shifts in the past three centuries among liberal, collectivist, and conservative capitalist phases of democracy (1992: 23). As he describes it, liberalism is composed of three cores. The economic core deals with economic and property rights (1992: 25-27); the moral core incorporates personal, civil and social liberties; the political core is composed of individual consent, a restrained representative government, via constitutionalism, and, popular sovereignty (Macridis, 1992: 26-40). In sum, liberalism values the individual more than the state, but has been used pluralistically to grant rights and freedoms to groups, and by the twentieth century was beginning to include notions of social justice (Macridis, 1992: 42, 43, 48).

In the same work, Macridis argues that collectivist democracy generally retains the moral and political core of liberalism, but hold reservations about the economic core of capitalism

[6] Wieting and Thorlindsson (1990: 175) point out that these may include evaluators, archivists, or distributors.

(1992: 52). The result has been support for various degrees of state corrections to the economy ranging from minimal control in order to provide basic social services to the social democratic call for the abolishment of private property and free enterprise as well as the welfare state, mixed economies and capitalist responses to those situations (Macridis, 1992: 52 ff.).

In the third phase, for Macridis, rather then a contract view of the state, conservatives have an organic, functionalist theory of society (1992: 81-83). They reject individualism and egalitarianism, while simultaneously remaining committed to legal guarantees of rights, representative government and the welfare state within the context of tradition and law (1992: 87) as well as a free market and a restrictive morality (1992: 91-92).

As a summary, Table 1 compares Macridis' three phases of democracy in terms of the presence or absence of the general elements of the three cores of liberalism. Theoretically, other variants exist depending on the relative preponderance (+ or -) of the existence of these three cores. Thus, in this study, since different "democratic cultures"[7] exist, seeking these elements within the definitions of democracy provides a starting point for the analysis of indigenous Czech conceptions of democracy.

Table 1. Elements of Liberalism in Collectivist and Capitalist Phases of Democracy

	Liberal Moral Core	**Liberal Political Core**	**Liberal Economic Core**
Liberalism	+	+	+
Collectivist	+	+	-
Conservative	-	+	+

In discussing three universal problems of democracy, Patrick argues first, that in a democracy, majority rule must be limited in order to protect minority rights. Secondly, personal liberty and the power of government must be constitutionally limited. Finally, positive rights must be limited.[8] In fact, he argues, there exists a pan-planetary disagreement of which right takes precedence (1998: 9).

Works similar to the two described above treat democracy as a form of action imposed on people as a result of history or theoretical views of democracy. What they neglect in describing and prescribing are the local meanings of democracy. When objects take on meaning, they become imbued with moral value (e.g., good-bad). This is what this paper seeks to discover.

A few studies have studied localized conceptions. For instance, Putnam (1973) asked Italian and British politicians to define the essentials of democracy. While many of their definitions referenced the etymology of the tetrm "democracy" (government by the people), the Italian definitions were more literal than the British, some of whom rejected direct participation (Putnam, 1973: 168). In another study of American High School seniors, Sigel (1979) discovered that the definitions were simplistic and focused on individual freedom. One study specifically examined "Popular Conceptions of Democracy" among Australian High School and University students (May, 1980). As with the other research above, however, May equates particular conceptions about democracy with democracy and then subsequently asks respondents surveyed

[7] I have borrowed this notion from Kemble (1996).

[8] Negative rights, guaranteed to citizen by limits on governmental power, prohibit the government from doing certain things to people; positive rights, governmental action on behalf of a person, means that certain things should be done for all citizens (Patrick, 1998: 8).

to evaluate those conceptions. May concludes that the popular essence of democracy includes equal shares, an equal say, leveling to equalize resources, and productivity to disburse resources (1980: 346). Moreover, his basic question has much similarity with this study: "When ordinary people allude to 'democracy', what do they have in mind? What do they regard as defining properties of democracy?" (May, 1980).

Methodological Strategy

The data reported in this paper were collected during two months of field work conducted in the Czech Republic during the fall of 1997. In the Czech Republic, secondary students may attend one of three types of schools: 1) *gymnazium* or academic schools, 2) *střední škola* or technical schools, and 3) *učiliště* or vocational schools. *Gymnazium* students are prepared for post-secondary education, *střední škola* students are prepared for professional careers (e.g., dental hygienists), and *učiliště* students are prepared for vocations (e.g., waiters, seamstresses).

As part of a larger study, 44 teachers at a Civic Education conference and 306[9] students in each of these schools in one large city, two medium-sized cities, and one small town were asked to write answers to the following questions: 1) How would you define democracy?

Data was collected in four cities of different sizes at each of the three different types of schools in the Czech Republic. Colleagues in the Czech Republic made arrangements for me to visit Prague, České Budejovice, and Milevsko in Bohemia, the western part of the Czech Republic and Olomouc, in Moravia, the eastern part of the Czech Republic.

Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic, has about 1.2 million residents and is a thriving cosmopolitan metropolis. I resided in the empty flat owned by the parents of a colleague. The Prague gymnasium I visited provided me the opportunity to observe classes, interview a few students and teachers, and administer my survey instruments. The other school I visited there is a combined school that offers vocational or specialist programs of study. Prague also functioned as my home base. From here I journeyed to other places to collect data.

České Budejovice has about 120,000 residents and is about four hours south of Prague. I resided with a Czech family, the mother was a civics and English teacher at a local gymnasium which I visited every day. There, I observed a few civics and English lessons. I also participated in the life of the school by conducting a few English lessons and I visited a local vocational school as well as a specialist school.

Milevsko, about two hours south of Prague, has approximately 5,000 residents. I stayed at a local hotel, was at the gymnasium almost everyday, and visited the local vocational school. Since the town is small, there is no local specialist school[10]. Students who wish to specialize, attend schools in nearby towns, such as Tabor or Pisek, while some students from other towns come to Milevsko to atttend the gymnasium or vocational school.

Olomouc is one of the largest cities in Moravia and has 120,000 residents. It is in the center of the parts of the Czech Republic that were devastated by the 1997 summer flood. I

[9] An attempt was made to sample other Czechs, but since only 6 university students completed the survey instrument, they have been excluded from this analysis.

[10] Milevsko also has a secondary school for students with special needs. While I was unable to visit this school, it is interesting to note that many of the students attending this school are *Roma* (Gypsies).

stayed in a university dormitory that was being renovated due to flood damage.[11] While in Olomouc, I attended and made presentations at a summer school civic education conference for teachers. I was also able to interview and administer my survey instruments to teachers at the conference. Due to the flood damage, I was only able to visit schools long enough to administer surveys, interview a few students, and observe the damage to the school buildings and equipment.

Measurement

Sex, age and type of educational institution were determined as a result of responses on the survey. Since teachers ranged in age from 24 to 59, age was collapsed by decades for teachers. More difficult is establishing a measure of social class. Duncan (1961: 140) was involved in early efforts to utilize occupation as an index of socioeconomic status. Occupational status is composed of multiple elements such as prestige and socioeconomic dimensions (Treiman, 1977: 191). Duncan's scale, however, is most advantageous when applied with reference to the United States (Treiman, 1977: 212). Since parental occupation is the only means I have for estimating relative status among the participants in this study, I need a cross-culturally valid scale to code my data. Treiman's "Standard Occupational Prestige Scale[12]" (1977: 214 and 235 ff.) satisfies those criteria.

Appendix A lists the occupations provided by my respondents as well as the prestige scores taken from Treiman's Standard Scale. Not all occupations in my sample were listed on Treiman's scale. After consulting the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (U.S. Department of Labor, 1991) and major and minor occupation units in Treiman (1977), coding decisions were made that assigned what appeared to be fair scores. For example, one occupation listed for a parent was the non-specific "advertising." The prestige score for advertising writers is 47 and it is 42 for advertising sales. Thus, by averaging (and rounding up to the next highest whole number), the score attributed to this occupation is 45. Again, "grocery field" advisor was not listed on the scale. Unclassified occupations are scored 40, while managers (not elsewhere classified) receive a 60 and various other types of advisors/inspectors/counselors receive scores in the low 50s. Thus, a decision was made to average the lowest and highest in the range and assign a prestige score of 50. Similarly, "without work," "retired," and "maternity leave" were scored as "not in labor force," a 41, rather than the much lower scores for living off Social Security (30) or Public Assistance (16).

Following the above procedures, individual scores for father's and mother's prestige were calculated. These were averaged to construct a general prestige score for the family of origin of the respondent. The prestige scores ranged from 22 through 78 with a mean of 48.74. A rough measure of social class (lower, middle, upper) was calculated by separating the prestige scores into equal number groups on the basis of lower, middle, and upper percentiles (33rd percentile = 43.5 and 66th percentile = 55).

The Semantic Differential Scale and Factor Analysis

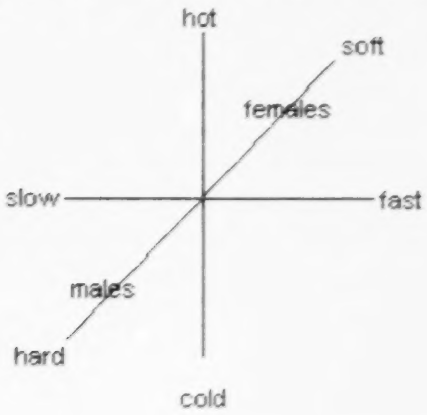
[11] Walking down the street, the musty smell of wet basements permeated the air. Few telephones were in operational condition and workers were busy excavating, often by hand, power lines for repairs.

[12] Treiman provides some "Occupational Prestige Scores for Each Country" (1977: 318 ff.), but as the occupations he listed for Czechoslovakia were limited, and since the Czechoslovakian state has since dissolved, the decision was made to rely on his Standard Scale.

The semantic differential technique has been utilized in a number of ways (e g , Nunnally, 1961; Rummel, 1970), but not to examine conceptions of democracy. The semantic differential approach to the measurement of meaning postulates the existence of "a semantic space, a region of some unknown dimensionality and Euclidian in character" (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957:25). In this approach, the researcher presents seven-step bipolar adjective choice scales by which a respondent can rate terms so that the researcher can determine the relevant descriptors.

For instance, an individual might be asked to rate a type of government in a number of dimensions characterized by bipolar lexical items (e g , hot-cold; slow-fast; hard-soft). To simplify matters for the moment, and for clarity of exposition, assume a sex difference exists in characterizing type of government in this hypothetical example. Perhaps female answers cluster around hot, fast, and soft while male answers lie at the other extreme of the continua. In a three-dimensional coordinate system, this hypothetical result would be represented as in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Hypothetical bipolar sex difference on 3 semantic differential elements



In order to ensure that respondents were semantically differentiating the same object, they were asked to provide their term for their type of government[13] and then they were asked to think about that type of government while responding to the semantic differential scale. This strategy was deemed necessary in order to ensure that respondents were thinking about the same object regardless of what they individually wished to call it.

One additional problem needs to be considered. I utilized 57 of Osgood's adjective pairs. Since it becomes increasingly difficult to visualize multidimensional space with each additional dimension added, attempting to work with 57 dimensions is virtually impossible. Osgood's solution was to suggest that the adjective pairs were actually multiple measures of some smaller

[13] Many respondents failed to fill in the blank asking them to name their type of government. Since they were subsequently asked to think about their type of government, however, we can feel relatively safe in assuming that respondents were thinking about the same object as they completed the semantic differential scale.

number of underlying factors. In fact, he found that the pairs clustered into three dominated elements of semantic space and best might be named evaluation, potency, and activity (e.g., Osgood *et al* 1957:52-61, 172). While those same factors might be relevant in my study, due to the cross-cultural differences in our samples and in the objects about which we queried our respondents, the relevancy of those factors to my sample is suspect as Osgood *et al* suggested (1957:32-33). Thus, I turned to factor analysis as an analytical technique to be utilized to ferret out the factors relevant to Czech conceptions of democracy.

Factor analysis is a technique for reducing the number of variables in a data set in order to make the data more manageable (e.g., Kim and Mueller, 1978a, 1978b; Kerlinger, 1986; Loether and McTavish, 1988; StatSoft, 1997). Since my main goal is to discover some useful underlying factors in order to make comparisons across sex, type of school, age, and social class/prestige, I have followed the steps outlined by Kim and Mueller (1978a: 46).

Table 1 Total Variance Explained by First 15 Factors

	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
Factor	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	14.089	24.718	24.718	4.710	8.264	8.264	11.843	20.777	20.777
2	3.187	5.592	30.310	2.132	3.740	12.004	2.448	4.295	25.072
3	2.171	3.810	34.119	9.117	15.994	27.998	1.423	2.496	27.567
4	2.110	3.701	37.820	2.554	4.481	32.479	1.296	2.273	29.840
5	1.719	3.016	40.836	1.544	2.708	35.187	1.265	2.220	32.060
6	1.611	2.826	43.662	1.421	2.493	37.681	1.234	2.164	34.224
7	1.430	2.510	46.171	.993	1.742	39.422	1.233	2.162	36.387
8	1.402	2.460	48.632	.973	1.706	41.129	1.179	2.068	38.454
9	1.340	2.352	50.983	.842	1.477	42.605	1.149	2.015	40.469
10	1.317	2.311	53.295	.763	1.338	43.943	1.003	1.760	42.229
11	1.249	2.192	55.486	.693	1.216	45.160	.968	1.698	43.927
12	1.173	2.058	57.545	.726	1.274	46.433	.934	1.639	45.567
13	1.150	2.017	59.562	.637	1.118	47.551	.921	1.616	47.183
14	1.076	1.888	61.450	.626	1.098	48.650	.856	1.501	48.684
15	1.021	1.792	63.241	.622	1.091	49.741	.602	1.057	49.741

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

After collecting the data, via surveying students and teachers as described above, it was coded and entered into a computer spreadsheet that was subsequently imported into SPSS (version 7.5.1). The next step in factor analysis is to determine "the number of factors that can adequately explain the observed correlations (or covariances) among the observed variables" (Kim and Mueller, 1978a: 48). Following their advice, I selected the "maximum likelihood" option for extracting the initial factors and then applied a Varimax orthogonal rotation (to maintain uncorrelated factors) in order to attempt to simplify the resulting factors and make them easier to interpret (Kim and Mueller, 1978a:50). The computer program was set up to sort coefficients by size, to repress absolute values less then 1 and to save the factor scores as variables. Furthermore, as Table 1 indicates, the variance explained by the rotation loadings declines with each additional factor; 20.8% is explained by the first factor; 4.3% by the second factor (etc.).

While initial processing produced only 9 factors that accounted for at least 2% of the variance (40.5% cumulative), only the first five factors will be analyzed in what follows[14].

Table 2 indicates the loading of each variable on each of the first five factors. While the researcher must construct a label for each factor (Kim and Mueller, 1978a:56), Osgood *et al* (1957) suggested that repeated investigations of different topics with different subjects might produce factors similar to the three main ones he discovered (evaluation, potency, activity).

Factor 1 might best be called evaluative as can be seen by listing the first 10 terms with high loadings: timeliness-untimely (.839), true-false (.793), good-bad (.777), wise-foolish (.764), pleasurable-painful (.740), positive-negative (.734), successful-unsuccessful (.724), sane-insane (.645), sociable-unsociable (.621), and healthy-sick (.616).

The highest loadings for factor two decline in value rapidly after the first three: severe-lenient (.687), pungent-bland (.684), hard-soft (.670) are followed by sophisticated-naive (.370), aggressive-defensive (.342), strong-weak (.291) and so on. These pairs support naming this factor potency.

The top pairs for the third factor are complete-incomplete (.552), formed-formless (.422), stable-changeable (.341), rational-intuitive (.318), and clean-dirty (.307). With the exception of the latter pair of clearly evaluative terms as well as the penultimate pair, this factor might tentatively be labeled stability.

Examining the loadings on the fourth factor indicates a tension between the postively loaded hot-cold (.429) pair as compared to constrained-free (-.459) and constricted-spacious (-.424). Were the latter two terms presented to the respondents in reverse order (i.e., as free-constrained or spacious-constricted), the polarity of their loadings would be reversed. Coupled with our knowledge that heat excites molecules, while cold restricts their movement, we might tentatively label this factor activity in consideration of the movement allowed by heat, spaciousness, and free.

Finally, the fifth factor has one element that clearly stands out. Though Osgood classified large-small (.964) as an element of the potency factor, here it might be seen as a pervasive factor.

[14] Osgood set 2% as a limit. In the interests of economy, this paper will follow that criteria, but only examine the first 5 factors. Most of the loadings on the other factors are less than |3|.

Table 2 Rotated Factor Loadings

	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
timely-untimely	.839	-.125			
true-false	.793	-.102			
good-bad	.777	-.101	.112		
wise-foolish	.764				.160
pleasurable-painful	.740	-.183			
positive-negative	.734				
successful-unsuccessful	.724			.111	
sane-insane	.645	-.191	.247		
sociable-unsociable	.621			-.146	.190
healthy-sick	.616		.140		
reputable-disreputable	.608			.165	
believing-skeptical	.583		.158		.102
meaningful-meaningless	.569		.212	.160	.137
light-dark	.564	-.133		.141	-.132
sober-drunk	.563		.158		
kind-cruel	.555	-.277			
beautiful-ugly	.554		.206		.110
clean-dirty	.554		.307		
interesting-boring	.553		.138	.103	
active-passive	.550	.113	.170	.149	
progressive-regressive	.530			.191	
strong-weak	.530	.291	.185		
public-private	.492			.121	
grateful-ungrateful	.476	-.124		.118	
altruistic-egoistic	.445	-.123		.172	
formed-formless	.436		.422		
harmonious-dissonant	.405		.102		
sharp-blunt	.376		.192	.125	
rational-intuitive	.363		.318	.130	
new-old	.362		.201	.129	
fast-slow	.348	.243	.172	.299	-.114
severe-lenient		.687			.177
pungent-bland	-.210	.684			
hard-soft	-.111	.670			
sophisticated-naive	.185	.370		-.267	.114
aggressive-defensive		.342		.117	
tenacious-yielding	.262	.283	.149	-.114	
complete-incomplete	.247		.552		
constrained-free				-.459	-.131
hot-cold	.218			.429	.101
constricted-spacious	-.296			-.424	
opaque-transparent		.110		-.254	
large-small	.125			.146	.964
heavy-light		.223			
stable-changeable	.334	.107	.341		
complex-simple					.193
serious-humorous	.124	.222	.124		
graceful-awkward	.430		.159	.139	
intentional-unintentional	.144			-.187	
important-unimportant	.491			.148	
optimistic-pessimistic	.387	-.196			
angular-rounded	-.115	.134		-.111	
cautious-rash	.244	-.116	.111		.104
orthodox-heretical	.170				
excitable-calm		.221	-.114		

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
a Rotation converged in 31 iterations.

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In the next section, comparisons of mean scores on these 5 factors will be made on the basis of school level (type of educational institution), sex, age, prestige, and social class.

Discussion

SEX. Of the 350 individuals studied, approximately two-thirds (66.9%) were female, 32.3% were male, and 0.9% did not list their sex. Table 3 compares the mean scores on the five factors by sex. An analysis of variance was conducted to determine whether or not the differences between the means were significant.[15] Significant differences exist between males and females on factors 2 and 3. The male tendency on the potency factor is in the negative direction, while the female trend lies in the positive direction. In effect, by referring back to the adjective pairs, this means that males tend to conceptualize democracy in terms of it being severe, pungent, hard, sophisticated, aggressive, and strong. Females, on the other hand, tend to regard democracy as lenient, bland, soft, naive, defensive, and weak.

It is of interest to note that the qualities each sex associates with democracy tend also to be the traditional qualities associated with the sexes. Why this might be the case, certainly needs to be expanded in future research, but it is possible that male roles have traditionally been in the public arena and thus, qualities associated with maleness have come to be associated with public civic culture[16]. In fact, a comparison of scores on the masculine-feminine dimension indicates no significant difference between male (mean=1.59) and female (mean=1.54) views of democracy as masculine. Too, it seems some what ironic that in choosing to label this factor "potency" prior to conducting the analysis, male views tend toward potency and female conceptualizations toward impotency.

Table 3 Factor Means by Sex

SEX		Evaluative (factor 1)	Potency (factor 2)	Stability (factor 3)	Activity (factor 4)	Pervasiveness (factor 5)
Male	Mean	-.0122	-.2423	.1573	.0717	.0874
	N	78	78	78	78	78
Female	Mean	.0147	.1069	-.0829	-.0232	-.0329
	N	183	183	183	183	183
Total	Mean	.0066	.0026	-.0111	.0052	.0031
	N	261	261	-.0122	261	261
ANOVA significance		.835	.004	.026	.386	.373

Table 3 also indicates a significant sex difference on the stability factor. Male views again tend toward the positive, while female views lie in the negative direction. As a result, males see democracy as stable (complete, formed, stable, rational, and clean) while females see it as (incomplete, formless, changeable, intuitive, and dirty). The explanation for these differences might lie in the recognition that the public arena provides an area supportive of traditional male

[15] In what follows, discussion will be limited to relationships that are significant at the .05 or level.

[16] Osgood points out that if the numbers in a matrix are representative of a group, the descriptions characterize "the cultural meanings of the concepts" (1957:88).

qualities, and thus stable (and clean!), from the male point of view. Alternatively, from the female point of view as evidenced by the emergence of feminist movements coincident with the rise of democracy, that same public arena can be seen as unstable (and dirty!) in that it is undergoing change.

AGE: Table 4 presents the mean factor score for each age. While ANOVA does not indicate the specific differences between the means that are significant, it does provide the information that there is an age difference on the evaluative, potency, and activity factors. Scheffe's test for contrasts is one way of examining differences between specific means (Loether and McTavish,1988:569 ff.). Scheffe's test suggests[17] that the evaluative factor remains significant with a general trend of negative means for older individuals (in order from lowest to higher, 40s, 30s, 50s, 15, 16, 18) and positive means for younger respondents (in increasing means: 20, 17, 19). Alternatively, it is possible that teachers and younger students (15-18) share values that are rejected or transformed once matriculation is at hand (17-20 years). For the evaluative factor, negative scores suggest a view of democracy as untimely, bad, negative, and so on as described above in regard to sex differences.

Table 4 Factor Means by Age

Age Groups		Evaluative (factor 1)	Potency (factor 2)	Stability (factor 3)	Activity (factor 4)	Pervasiveness (factor 5)
15	Mean	-.1895	-.3761	.0057	.1651	-.3058
	N	34	34	34	34	34
16	Mean	-.0875	-.0849	-.0965	.0395	.0094
	N	78	78	78	78	78
17	Mean	.2541	-.0174	.0267	.0265	.1777
	N	81	81	81	81	81
18	Mean	-.0122	.1485	-.1021	.0650	.1537
	N	29	29	29	29	29
19	Mean	1.2008	-.0618	-.4917	.3321	.2497
	N	4	4	4	4	4
20s	Mean	.2321	.0722	-.1043	-.5791	-.5838
	N	4	4	4	4	4
30s	Mean	-.3454	.5784	.3604	-.0765	-.1009
	N	16	16	16	16	16
40s	Mean	-.3918	.2946	.3882	-.2663	-.4780
	N	8	8	8	8	8
50s	Mean	-.3280	.7891	-.1811	-1.0057	-.2314
	N	7	7	7	7	7
Total	Mean	.0066	.0026	-.0111	.0052	.0031
	N	261	261	261	261	261
ANOVA significance		.016	.008	.364	.033	.232

[17] Though the test is significant at the .083 level, the significance levels between specific means is not significant. This is a tentative suggestion as group sizes in the comparisons are not equal.

Potency does not appear to have a significant difference between specific means (Scheffe's significance = .377), though it does range from the negative views of the young (increasing from 15, 16, 19, 17) to the positive views of those who are older (increasing means from 20s, 18, 40s, 30s, 50s). As with sex differences, this suggests that the young conceptualize democracy as impotent (lenient, soft, weak, etc.) while older individuals consider it to be potent (severe, hard, strong, aggressive). Possibly this result is due to the fact that older individuals are more apt to have lived through, and even participated in, the transformation to democracy.

Finally, an examination of the activity factor (Scheffe's test significance = .090) suggest that older respondents view democracy as inactive (cold, but free and spacious) while youth see it as active (hot, but constrained and constricted; interesting when coupled with impotent, above).

SCHOOL LEVEL. Table 5 presents the factor means by school level (the elementary category refers to teachers at the elementary level). On the evaluative factor, lowest (and negative) means are held by elementary teachers, as well as at technical schools and vocational schools, while individuals (teachers and students) at *gymnasia* hold positive views (Scheffe significance level = .004).

Scheffe's test is significant (.010) for differences specifically between technical and *gymnasia* individuals. As a result, this means that those with negative means evaluate democracy negatively, while those with positive means evaluate it positively. Two possibilities immediately come to mind. It is possible that at the elementary level more emphasis may be placed on socializing the young into the cultural belief system. The same goes for the vocational and technical students who are on a career trajectory as opposed to *gymnasia* students, who, though certainly aimed at a career, might have been exposed to curricular materials more positive of democracy.

On the potency factor the ANOVA test suggests a significant difference, but the specific test only supports the existence of a significant difference between elementary-technical (Scheffe's sig. = .005) as well as elementary-gymnasium (Scheffe's sig. = .001). On this factor, elementary teachers view democracy as potent while technical and *gymnasia* affiliated respondents conceive of democracy as impotent. While this might be attributable to the fact that teachers are older and thus have first-hand experience of the potency of democracy in the region, it is a finding certainly worth pursuing in future research. In terms of the stability factor, the specific difference lies between the gymnasium respondents and those at vocation schools (Scheffe's sig. = .086).

Table 5 Factor Means by School Level

School Level		Evaluative (factor 1)	Potency (factor 2)	Stability (factor 3)	Activity (factor 4)	Pervasiveness (factor 5)
Elementary	Mean	-.2906	.7562	.2708	-.3160	-.1644
	N	18	18	18	18	18
Vocational	Mean	-.0146	.1455	-.2058	-.0340	-.0067
	N	49	49	49	49	49
Technical	Mean	-.2098	-.0799	-.1430	.1137	.2097
	N	82	82	82	82	82
Gymnasium	Mean	.2512	-.1425	.1429	.0242	-.0975
	N	110	110	110	110	110
Total	Mean	.0173	-.0057	-.0047	.0179	.0123
	N	259	259	259	259	259
ANOVA significance		.004	.001	.009	.205	.160

PRESTIGE: Table 6 provides Pearson's correlation coefficient between prestige and the 5 factors. The only factor significant related to prestige is the evaluative factor. As a result, those coming from a family of origin with higher prestige levels conceptualize democracy more positively than those from lower prestige occupations. The next section examines this difference utilizing the rough measure of social class developed above.

Table 6 Correlation Between Factors and Prestige

FACTORS	Prestige (N=232)	r^2	Sig. (2-tailed)
Evaluative (factor 1)	.1833*	.034	.005
Potency (factor 2)	-.023	.0005	.730
Stability (factor 3)	.095	.009	.979
Activity (factor 4)	.020	.0004	
Pervasiveness (factor 5)	-.0004		.528
*Pearson Correlation			

SOCIAL CLASS: There is a significant difference on the evaluative factor between social classes (ANOVA sig. Level = .022) and specifically this difference is located between the higher and lower classes (sig. = .035) and perhaps between the upper and middle classes (sig. = .095). Both the lower and the middle class have negative evaluative means for democracy (with the lower classes holding more negative views), while the upper class mean is positive. Here again, it might be suggested that the upper classes evaluate democracy positively precisely because they benefit from it more than the lower and middle classes who may have been better off prior to the transition to democracy (e.g., with guaranteed state careers, housing, etc.).

Table 7 Factor Means by Social Class

Social Class		Evaluative (factor 1)	Potency (factor 2)	Stability (factor 3)	Activity (factor 4)	Pervasiveness (factor 5)
Low	**Mean**	-.1353	.0783	-.0103	.0217	-.0588
	N	79	79	79	79	79
Middle	**Mean**	-.0585	-.0318	-.0752	-.0478	.0731
	N	96	96	96	96	96
High	**Mean**	.2475	-.0550	.0812	.0893	.0097
	N	84	84	84	84	84
Total	**Mean**	.0173	-.0057	-.0047	.0179	.0123
	N	259	259	259	259	259
ANOVA significance		.022	.607	.425	.514	.684

Table 8 summarizes the significant differences existing in the data collected during the fall of 1997 in the Czech Republic.

Table 8 Summary of Significant Relationships

		Independent Variables							
		Sex		Age		School Level		Social Class/ Prestige	
Mean		+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
FACTORS	Evaluative			young	old	*gymnasia*	Technical		
	Potency	female	male			elementary	Technical *gymnasia*		
	Stability	male	female			*gymnasia*	vocational	upper	lower middle
	Activity			young	old				
	pervasiveness	No significant relationship							

Conclusion

When humans interact, they can only do so on the basis of the institutions providing the conceptual categories assumed to exist at the very moment that that interaction reconstitutes the institution. Van Gunsteren points out "that citizenship is not a natural attribute of individuals but an office in the set of institutions that we call a republic" (1998: 29). Just as actor's conceptions of that office differ from each other and inform their interactions, so too do conceptions of that set of institutions. In the Czech Republic, the case examined here, those differing conceptions contain the information informing civic, as well as other, interactions between people of different sexes, ages, school levels, prestige, and social classes. Recognizing and describing these differences is not only the first step in preparing curricula for civic reform, it also must be the origin of efforts directed at improving human interactions in general, and world democracy in particular.

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Appendix A: Prestige Scores Assigned to Father's and Mother's Occupations

Occupation	*Prestige Score*	*Occupation*	*Prestige Score*
actress	52		
advertising	45		
advisor ("grocery field")	50		
agronomist	58		
air-conditioning specialist	44		
architect	72		
archivist, head (library)	54		
assistant, University department	41		
basic school	50		
biologist	69		
birth assistant	42		
blacksmith	35		
bookbinder	32		
bricklayer	34		
bricklayer--bath tile	34		
bureaucrat	55		
business/entrepreneur	58		
caretaker, school (janitor)	25		
carpenter	37		
chemist	69		
cleaning woman	22		
clerical worker/civil servant	41		
clerk	38		
clerk, accounting/payroll	49		
clerk, administration work	38		
clerk, bank/admin	42		
clerk, Insurance Co. money changer	42		
clerk, technical	38		
clerk/assistant, shop	38		
computer operator	53		
confectioner - candy/maker	33		
constructor	28		
cook	31		
deceased	(coded as missing)		
dentist (private)	70		
designer	56		
director kindergarten school	66		
director, theater	62		
dispatcher	37		
dispatcher, train	37		
distributor	58		
Doctor	78		
draftsman	55		
driver	31		
driver, engine	34		
driver, tractor	31		
economist	60		
electrician	44		
electro-mechanic	46		
engineer	55		
engineer, chemical	66		

engineer, construction	70
engineer, design	55
engineer, power	55
engineer-technician	46
expediter, parcel department	37
farm employee, vegetable	23
farmer	47
finance deputy	60
fireman	35
flower shop	42
forest officer, district	66
forest technician--ranger	42
forest, rangers, head of	48
forewoman	39
founder(y)	38
geodesic--checks soil for building roads	55
hat maker	32
head school cafeteria	39
health laborer	48
housekeeper, at home	41
hygienist	50
inspector	39
invoicer	34
judge	78
kindergarten, works in [aide?]	50
laboratory worker	48
landlady	30
lathe-worker	37
lawyer	73
librarian	54
locksmith	40
machinist	43
maid, hotel	22
maintenance man	28
manager	65
manager, business	60
manager, chocolate shop	42
manager, firm	63
manager, hotel	53
manager, night	60
manager, shift	60
manager, store	60
manager, train	60
manager/head, stores (warehouse)	60
manufacturing, clothing (in fields)	29
marketing	46
maternity leave	41
mechanic, auto	44
mechanic, machine	43
milker/milkmaid	23
nurse (lower)	44
nurse, hospital	54
nurse, pediatric	54
official	65

operator	38
operator, head	44
operator, machine	38
pharmacist	64
physicist, nuclear	76
plumber	34
police	40
post office worker	39
president, Agricultural Association	65
printer	42
private company	58
private lodging enterprise	22
professor/pedagogue	78
programmer	51
psychiatrist	78
psychologist	66
publisher	60
quality checker	39
repairman	43
reporter (of research)	55
reporter	55
requisitioner	48
researcher	56
researcher, pharmaceutical	79
retired	41
sales assistant	34
sales manager	52
seamstress	39
secretary	53
seller, head	52
soldier	39
state employee	50
storage	22
table/furniture maker	36
tax advisor	50
teacher	55
technical documentation	56
technician, dental	58
technologist	58
transporter, auto	39
unemployed (w/o work)	41
waitress	23
watchmaker	40
wholesaler	58
window dresser/trimmer	38
worker	32
worker, storage	20
worker, technical	46